

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 HA-05 ACDA-12 TRSE-00
OMB-01 AID-05 MCE-00 /115 W
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R 221054Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2128
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 8447
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, MR, MO, SG, SS, AO, UR
SUBJECT: SENGHOR SPEAKS OUT AGAINST ALGERIA, COMMENTS ON ANGOLA
AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED
1. SUMMARY: IN WIDE-RANGING INTERVIEW IN DECEMBER 23 JEUNE
AFRIQUE, SENEGALESE PRESIDENT SENGHOR CALLS FOR SELF-
DETERMINATION BY MAURITANIAN BLACKS, IN EVENT POLISARIO
SUCCEEDS IN OVERTHROWING OULD DADDAH. HE SAYS HE IS
SATISFIED WITH SOVIET ASSURANCES THAT USSR WAS NOT THREATENING
SENEGAL OVER REINFORCEMENT OF FRENCH FORCES IN DAKAR.
SENGHOR REPEATS CALL FOR GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION IN
ANGOLA AND ANTICIPATES DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH NETO. HE URGES
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EXPANSION OF ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA INTO ECONOMIC
SANCTIONS, BUT ALSO URGES AID TO WHITE LIBERALS. HE
PLANS FULL-FLEDGED "AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL OF SOCIALIST
PARTIES." INTERNALLY, SENGHOR EXTOLS
PARTY PLURALISM AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, COMMENDING
OPPOSITION JOURNALS FOR ROOTING OUT GOVERNMENT ABUSES.
THOROUGHLY BEGUILED BY MASTERFUL SENGHORIAN PERFORMANCE,

JEUNE AFRIQUE SHOWERS HIM WITH RESPECTFUL SUPERLATIVES. OFFICIAL DAKAR PRESS HAS ALREADY DENOUNCED ALGERIAN CRITICISM OF THIS INTERVIEW, WARNING AGAINST "ALGERIAN COLONIZATION" OF MAURITANIA. END SUMMARY.

2. SAHARA: SENGHOR ASSERTS POLISARIO SEEKS "VIOLENT CHANGE" OF MAURITANIAN REGIME WHICH IS "EXPRESSION OF TWO REUNITED ETHNIC GROUPS--MOORS AND BLACKS." HENCE, POLISARIO IS "RACIST AND IMPERIALIST". IN EVENT OF COUP, SENGHOR WOULD DEMAND THAT HALF MILLION MAURITANIANS "WHO ARE ETHNICALLY AND CULTURALLY SENEGALESE EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION". SENGHOR CALLS FOR APPLICATION OF UN RESOLUTIONS ON SAHARA, BUT REMARKS (SOMEWHAT OUT OF CHARACTER) THAT "ONE MUST NOT FAVOR MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA AGAINST ALGERIA." SENGHOR SAYS HE IS READY TO CONSULT WITH THE ALGERIANS, BUT "NOT WITH THE POLISARIO WHICH IS ONLY AN INSTRUMENT IN ALGERIAN HANDS."

3. USSR: ASKED ABOUT ALLEGED "THREATS" AGAINST SENEGAL OVER STATIONING OF FRENCH TROOPS IN DAKAR (DAKAR 7605), SENGHOR RECALLS THAT ALGERIAN PRESS AGENCY REPORTED SUCH THREATS BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO SENEGAL (DAKAR 7419). HOWEVER, AMBASSADOR HAD ADVISED THAT REPORT WAS UNFOUNDED AND "I BELIEVE WHAT THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TOLD US.... OUR RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW ARE FRANK, CORDIAL, AND WE HAVE ALWAYS FOUND IN THE SOVIET LEADERS INTERLOCUTORS WHO CONFIDENTIAL

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TAKE US SERIOUSLY AND AVOID MAKING THREATS."

4. ANGOLA: SENGHOR TERMS IT NATURAL THAT AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE DEFENSE ACCORDS WITH NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES, EVEN INCLUDING FACILITIES GRANTED TO SOVIET NAVY. HOWEVER, SENEGAL OPPOSED "CUBAN EXPEDITION" BECAUSE "POWERS EXTERNAL TO AFRICA MUST NOT INTERVENE TO SETTLE AN INTERNAL CONFLICT." SENGHOR REPEATS HIS VIEW THAT PEACE WILL NOT COME IN ANGOLA UNTIL THERE IS GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION AND SAYS ONLY THING FOR WHICH HE REPROACHES NETO IS FOR NOT HAVING "SPIRIT OF DIALOGUE." SENEGAL DOES NOT HAVE MEANS TO AID UNITA ASIDE FROM GIVING IT COUNSEL TO REMAIN OPEN TO DIALOGUE, SENGHOR SAID. FURTHER, "WE HAVE ENGAGED INDIRECTLY IN A DIALOGUE WITH NETO AND I THINK THAT, SOON, WE WILL BE ABLE TO ENGAGE IN A DIRECT DIALOGUE."

5. SOUTH AFRICA: SENGHOR SUGGEST THAT WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE SAME RIGHTS AS "NEGRO-AFRICANS AND ARABO-BERBERS." HE BELIEVES GENERATION MAY BE NECESSARY TO RESOLVE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM, BUT REPEATS THAT U.S. SHOULD PRESS PRETORIA FOR

INTERNAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN ALL COMMUNITIES. SENGHOR AGREES THAT INTERNAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE SUPPORTED, BUT ALSO URGES AID TO WHITE LIBERALS. HE LABELS UN EMBARGO ON ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA A JOKE ("FUMISTERIE") IN ABSENCE OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

6. SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (SI): SENGHOR ANTICIPATES LEADING SEVERAL AFRICAN PARTIES INTO SI, AND ANNOUNCES INTENTION TO CREATE AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL OF SOCIALIST PARTIES LATER THIS MONTH IN SENEGAL (DAKAR 8154).

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7. DOMESTIC POLITICS: SENGHOR REITERATES COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND LIMITED PARTY PLURALISM. HE TAKES GENERAOUS VIEW OF OPPOSITION SENEGALESE JOURNALS, ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THEIR ATTACKS ARE OFTEN BASED ON REAL "ABUSES AND INJUSTICES." "ONE TIME OUT OF THREE, WHEN THE PRESS ATTACKS THE SENEGALESE ADMINISTRATION, IT IS RIGHT....." SENGHOR DESCRIBES THE LIVELY INTERNAL COMPETITION TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE GOVERNING PARTI SOCIALISTE IN

PREPARATION FOR FEBRUARY'S NATIONAL ELECTIONS, AND PREDICTS THAT COMBINED OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL WIN 10-20 PERCENT OF VOTE. SENEGALESE PRESIDENT EXPRESSES HOPE THAT "DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WILL BE IRREVERSIBLE WITHIN FIVE YEARS," IMPLYING THAT HE MIGHT
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RETIRE AT THAT TIME. ASKED ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY INTERVENTION, HE ASSURES CONFIDENTLY THAT "OUR ARMY IS REALLY A MODEL ARMY." AND: "THEY ARE MUCH BETTER OFF WHERE THEY ARE."
END UNCLASSIFIED

8. COMMENT:

(A) THIS IS SENGHOR'S FIRST PUBLIC REACTION TO SOUTH AFRICAN ARMS EMBARGO AND ALSO FIRST PUBLIC STATEMENT WE HAVE SEEN OF HIS CALL FOR SELF DETERMINATION BY MAURITANIAN BLACKS, WHICH HE MENTIONED PRIVATELY TO ME TWO WEEKS AGO (DAKAR 8150). SENGHOR'S CAREFULLY CHOSEN WORDS ON SOVIET ACTIONS SHOULD BE READ AGAINST STRAINED OVERALL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP DESCRIBED BY DAKAR A-90. IN OTHER RESPECTS, INTERVIEW SIMPLY REITERATES ESSENTIAL SENEGALESE POSITIONS WHICH HAVE REMAINED CONSTANT OVER PERIOD OF YEARS.

(B) NEW ELEMENTS IN ARTICLE ARE ALREADY PRODTCTING FAIR NUMBER OF REACTIONS, HOWEVER. UNDER DEC. 21 EDITORIAL CAPTIONED "ARROGANT ALGERIA," LE SOLEIL RESPONDS SCATHINGLY TO ALGERIAN CRITICISM OF INTERVIEW, CONCLUDING THAT "IT CANNOT BE A QUESTION OF PASSIVELY OBSERVING ALGERIAN COLONIZATION OF MAURITANIA," OR OF "DELIVERING TO ALGIERS OUR 500,000 BLOOD BROTHERS WHO LIVE ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE SENEGAL RIVER." HEAD OF OPPOSITION PARTI DEMOCRATIQUE SENEGALAIS (PDS) CALLED ON SENGHOR DEC. 20 TO PROTEST "RUMORS" THAT OPPOSITION WOULD ONLY GAIN 10-20 SEATS, "AS IF THE ELECTIONS WERE ALREADY OVER."

(C) BUT ON BALANCE THIS WAS MASTERFUL PERFORMANCE WHICH OBVIOUSLY BEGUILLED THE JEUNE AFRIQUE TEAM. PROJECTING QUALITIES OF HUMILITY NOT ALWAYS EVIDENT IN HIS PUBLIC APPEARANCES, SENGHOR EMPHASIZED HIS NEED FOR CONTRADICTION" AND CRITICISM TO HELP AVOID MAKING MISTAKES, AND DISARMINGLY REMARKED "I DON'T WANT TO PUT MYSELF FORWARD AS BEING MORE FIGHTEOUS THAN I AM." JEUNE
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AFRIQUE EULOGIZES SENGHOR AS "AN HISTORIC PERSONAGE, ABOVE THE MELEE, WHOM EVERYONE RESPECTS, WHOSE INTEGRITY AND UNSELFISHNESS IS RECOGNIZED." EMBASSY URGES THOSE WHO FOLLOW SENEGAL CLOSELY TO READY COMPLETE INTERVIEW.

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